



And in what way would the Non-Europeans benefit from such a victory? Do we need to remind the Congresses that the oppression of the Non-Whites did not start with the coming of the Nats. into power? The tying of the people to the liberals is in itself a betrayal. For it means persuading them to accept a pre-Nationalist herrenvolkism. To argue that segregation is more tolerable than apartheid is ~~tax~~ tantamount to treachery. Apartheid is the logical development of segregation. The people, however, though perhaps unable to formulate the position in clear terms, sense the betrayal, and as the political pressures in the country increase, they revolt against this unholy alliance. That is why the end of the last stunt was the signal for the falling apart of the Congresses.

As we have said, a crisis forces political parties and groupings to take up their basic positions. Diverse elements within the Congresses each find their respective levels. The concession hunters, uneasy in the sharp winds of crisis, where compromise is no longer tenable, are trying desperately to limit the struggle to piece-meal opposition. The Indian merchants, alarmed at the crushing effect of the Group Areas Act, which will destroy their businesses and reduce them to the ~~same~~ same penury as the poor Indians and the rest of the Non-Europeans, are concentrating on ~~the~~ opposition to this Act, and in general try to embarrass the Nationalist Party.

The intellectuals, rejected by the Nationalists, who treat all Non-Europeans as pariahs, hanker after the old days. As a group they hope to be granted special concessions and privileges. They would like to see themselves snugly employed in glorified Bungas and Native Representative Councils. It is these limited and self-seeking aims that tie them to the liberals. The tribalists and racialists, with their gaze fixed on pre-capitalist days, and smarting under the herrenvolk blows, are disappointed and disillusioned by the stunts of the Congresses; ~~are~~ completely lacking in political ~~vision~~ vision and a sense of principled struggle, they hit blindly and furiously at every one who does not belong to the tribe. The Africanist is anti-White and violently opposed to the Coloured and Indian sections. Their appeal, no less than that of the Nationalists, is to race passions. Such racialists, with their "Africa-for Africans," are a danger to the ~~Movement's~~ struggle for liberty. Yet the other groups within the Congresses are incapable of fighting them because they themselves are rooted in sectionalism. Each one of them thinks in terms of the interests of his own group instead of the ~~the~~ united and principled struggle of all the oppressed Non-Europeans. On the face of it, it would seem strange that the liberals should seek to unite with these

\* anti-White ~~Anti-Whites~~

anti-White elements. But Africanists are preferable to them; for the activities of these racialists guarantee the failure of the struggle for freedom and ensure the continued existence of herrenvolkism.

This, then, is the manner in which the crisis in South Africa has affected and atomised those organisations within the Congress of Democrats. They are faced with the task of re-thinking and reviewing their whole basic position. The more serious-minded among them will find their way out of this morass, out of this political cul-de-sac, and make their way to the broad road of independent struggle.

In the next issue we shall consider how the same crisis and political pressures have affected those organisations within the Non-European Unity Movement .

To be continued.

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